

VN

~~CRISIS STUDY~~

CAMBODIA 70

MHH

MORT HALPERIN

ST 70?

(after Cambodian)

Pres has not proposed to take out over ten 150,000 ; " those are the combat forces — engaged in combat.

' Pres is getting .

If they attack on reduced forces, he will escalate . He will, by using bombing, mining, air-ant, blocking Sihanoukville. "Decisive" blow — will do the same in bombing.

(Critique of globalisation).

(He believes in "demonstrating")

North Koreans shot down a plane (8 months ago); Russians pilots; (State suggested as warnings). Tired + frustrated → decisive. Costs taking over Laos, Phnom Penh ...

THREE

Military — explicit opportunity ; but not Pres.

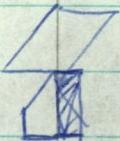
JJ 用

To make bombing/invasion threat
credible



"They don't believe he had power to
escalate war"

Rogers wasn't informed about strikes
in NVN





Start by anticipating all the agents
+ destroy each one

ans - dispersed uniting small %.

recr - whose? people?

numbers - how many?

"body count" - Cambodians

(ARVN infiltrated by VC

, warning ; US operation

(perhaps 10-15,000 VC in ARVN

in next CIA study)

But that SVN ^{will} ~~can~~ ~~would~~ stay;
suspiciously stay; kept NVA attacked;
will Nixon get refugee support.
(N would not put pressure on T to leave)

main reason: to warn them,
so from attacking after an nuclear
power

G. thinks NSA attacks were after initial SWAIR attacks.

G. doesn't think Rogers had any intellig of attack when he spoke to Congress -

Did Laird know of attacks, anthorize? Or did Pres anthorize by-pass Laird?

All believed he wouldn't widen the war - increase the risks, costs, level of conflict.

4 missions of 50-120 planes "reinforced protective reaction."

"invasion"

How interpret statements, assurances, from the President? or his advisors?

Goals

1.
I think we're dealing with someone who is
insane. (Nixon)

(Appears while saying "Will not
be humiliated or defeated" — disintegration —
"I'm not going to be defeated." Struggles
to ^{keep} lose control.

Not the military taking over;
was the initiative for this came from
the President.

(Abuse?)

His description of person is a description.
His real reason — was reckless — because
he visited Cambodia + Laos,
committed to liberate breakaway in
Paris (^{in China meeting} new strategy line)

(My come into US with毛泽东
postage — better deal for the Laos/Cambodia
for US, better for them in SVN.

~~Notes~~

Cooke

(Baudens, neutrality
not strong point.

Big argument: (1) another client state.

How viable is that answer? vs. events?

(2) What do NVN/NVA do when they regard
something as an escalation; they matched
it. - Cambodia, Laos. Attopem.
(not negot.).



Chase notes of
conflict.

if they take over Cambodia, what if

CBS: TV
prison ^{in Fishback} said they had 3 days
warning - ARVN

Questions: What if ...

Client state ...

How know 3 months' delay?

~~V~~
Suppose they expanded base areas
and took Siem Reap;

Escaping

N.
fors: US  troops will be in
Cambodia 8 weeks ago

Flashed SFRC; 51 destroy

Marty

Border-crossing = wider war.

Were killed.

Military secret.

On Monday, 27 April, meeting with Rogers
on military aid: about weapons in saying,
don't give them aid, get involved at all.

F++
MILITARY

N. wanted a quick tactical success — cashes it —
to give himself breathing space on VNZ.
biggest military argument. [?] [?]

Bloodbath :

— ours, and groundless acts of the gov
call on us for aid.

Bloodbath in Cambodia. Preparation for victims.

the way we stopped the BB in NVN

~~in NVN~~ — by admitting that the ~~existing~~
reasons for our killing people there
were inadequate — and stopping it.

our BB in SVN.

violence will go on, at lower scale.

The consequences of our ~~pretending~~ that
we have the knowledge, or the ~~capacity~~, or the ~~wisdom~~,
~~it is our business to decide which~~

VWest shall govern (e.g. an NVWest
or other NVWest)

, which shall live or which shall die,
have been very grave, even tragic, for our own
country; but far more tragic for the VWest.

~~should the bourgeois for this~~
discuss ~~this~~ in Paris.

— But we are asylum for those we have
compromised, who want it. ^{though gov or multilateral don't} And aid, for
the people of SVN: ~~and~~ not because we
have left but because we were there.

Bloodbath

I was in VN 3 years ago
2 years ago

* Wh. is VN?

(Cambodia?)

Pres. decision

CAMBODIAN
INCURSION

- We don't know all the factors that went into Pres. decision & to how he weighed them: the situation, the goals, the expectations, the information. No one ever knows but the President, and Pres. never tells all at the time, or usually, ever.

~~Citizens & Government are~~
We have to meet ~~our own responsibilities~~
~~as citizens~~ on the basis of what either we do have.

We do know this:

- mid '64 - mid '67-68

- old proposal, always rejected before, even in the context of a high-level, military, open-ended war.
- we are told threat is greater - but no evidence presented, & an assault by itself analyzes that none exists, and no intelligence to this effect.
- We know great controversy within Admin - so evidence didn't convince them.
- We know the Pres. informed from my

attempt to seek endorsement from Congress,
despite assurances he would do that.

- indifference to nibbling victory, not to
withdrawal; not to "success of VVZ" unless
that means victory.

described as avoiding "defeat"

12.33 "enemy" killed in 9 days

30,000 US + UNR

Plane have been assumed

2.1 million pounds of rice

1 050 tons
2,100,000

White Name officials

indiv.
4793 weapons

730 crew members

495 large north roads

6790 small recent rods.

2.1 mill. pounds of rice

[count grains in a pound]

1. Early, Cedar Falls - from Triangle.
Eight months after partition City - vs. War zone C -
Int. opinion.

2.

3. People want peace - end of fighting - US
to go away.

4. - CORVN is people.
- Supply drops
Books can be rebuilt elsewhere.
- Supply routes can be re-channelled.
- No evidence - or estimates - that NVN is interested
to bury-point; or can't re-infiltrate.

2) Other panels of rice

5. What if Com Red gov falls?

What if PD or Siem Reap threatened, or fall?

Will USSR leave?

What is fate of Dham doctrine? scrapped?
in eye of Com?

Genghis Khan has recognized Shant.
(Final say!)

Plays its hand of hand-hair Chions:

hurts Moscow - 10 visitors

Copies Chion's predictions

Redo defending bases, many visitors.

SVN did't call for US air support.
Even with US air support — they will
be going in.

What if we're engaged, ~~in~~³⁰ June?

What % of supplies in area?

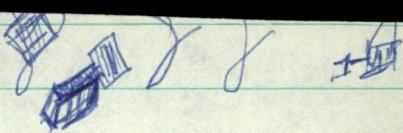
- est. of 60 days operating supplies

Cambodian contributions?

What if no contributions

By est. that they want offensive in
next year? High points.

Expanding base areas — because they expected
— to meet US demotion — to west
— all the way to the Mekong,
join flexibility; press C.N.



What will happen in US? Polanze.

For:

If NVN are stalled, trial

- think we getting out, this keeps
them from negotiating

- But:

- NVN are not weak

- Not already thinking US weak

- reinforce NVN view of US as bad,
unreliable

We didn't want to stop NVN
get supplies, disrupt
"take pressure off" L.N.

(see LA Times, December 5 May?
on decision process)

expanded ARVN

~~MAXWELL~~

Ripon Article in last Sunday's Post.

JCS — If you're going to nuclear, you've got to "do somethin'" about sanctions

High assurance of avoiding mil. defeat

Will be except "loss" of Cambodia?

Ideas

No. military success (Cedar Falls, etc.)
(Want to infer from decision to do this
where)

Risks:

of this
what risks to guard against:

"Judge us by what we do, not what we say."

Student protest

Bucky: NV4 expanding bases.
Base areas were opposite American
troops — to
move between troops would have
signalled op.

to try to establish a corridor, to link
up the areas...

Can't immediately rebuild areas — been
building up for 5 years.

10 months before [they have situation
as before]

"I don't see TV out there, and I have
little chance to read the papers..."

AM

((1))

Bunker

There's been a good deal of talk about
- govt - "broadening"

Important thing is to create effective gov;
an effective gov is what the people
want

Important ~~to~~ interests of US in VN:

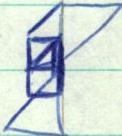
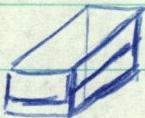
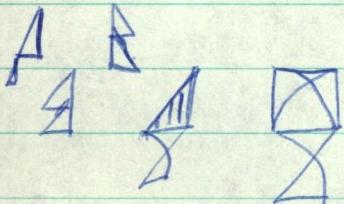
"the principle of allowing the Vietnamese
to choose ~~from~~ their own form of gov."

great mass of (VNers) are very quiet

Op has shown: "Don't do it again"

- if he does, big disaster
- This means not to lose

- Rebels can't leave from Dens, just as
Dens couldn't leave from French.



3 years ago

2 years ago

1 year ago

This job was not worth 44 American lives
- or 48, to risk the students at Kent.

Not only does it pose great risks ~~overseas~~
~~beyond~~ - of expanded ^{NVA} ops in Cambodia, Laos, SVN;
already, attacks; minimal gov; ~~upper~~ ^{upper} ~~upper~~ ^{upper}
targets; commitment of US to non Nol;

We are not talking about the "heart of the trouble" in Hanoi;

We are not talking about extended ops in Cambodia, or Laos, or NVN

No right man would use the word "decisive"
or "victorious" for an 8-month op against those war-zones.

Take years of repeated ops with
many thousands of men to find most of the
supply depots in given areas, to destroy them, &
keep Cos from rebuilding.

These ops have ^{prob.} not saved the lives
of as many Americans as they have been
lost because of the ops

The USA supplies - known marginal -
will have been built up in months - 6-10 as
the Admin now says, or 3 as Thieu says.

Would they have been used before that, is an
affair w. America? Not, probably without
a large strategy; and without such war
infiltration. Both of these are now more likely.

Self righteous

We are rating our "coastly" the effort;
that has been shown to be worthless,
Show up ^{possible} Opposition by a few months: yet
make it more likely.

count ops

little effect

same lies in VN:

15 Senators co-sponsor a bill to
have all US troops out of Vietnam — that
is a better way to protect the 280,000 the
Pns propose to leave in there then.

To soft those weapons and downgrade threats
these weapons capture if into US lines sound
is to suppose these weapons would probably
~~be used~~ ^{been} against Americans during the time
it takes to build them up — 3 months, 10-etc.
I don't believe the Pns has seen my
estimates that put the likelihood of that so
anything but very, very low. —

Check,

- How many US casualties?
- Did Sullivan oppose?
- Did Sullivan oppose aps in Laos, as Ambassador?

with the troops available, & the
US troops still there ~~were~~

It cannot save him ^{in even 6 months} ~~a year from now;~~
since supplies will have been expended.

It won't have saved him before
the unless Com. were going all-out —
using all supplies in next six months;
yet that goes contrary to all estimates
of the strategy, which has ~~has~~ been
changed

No argument has been presented for this
act that has not been made before
for this same operation — ~~They were asked to~~
~~Raiders~~ They did not convince the President
Johnson — even in the context of an open-ended
war strategy ; they did not convince Nixon,
last year; they did not persuade Rogers,
this year : all for the same reasons that Rogers
gave — commitment to another client state, &
open-ended war, higher casualties, ...
protests at illegality ; ^{writing} escalation of the other side;

VNZ : by French
by McN

Total Victory 43

AF/Na

1. Do you favor this proposal?
2. Why?
(same line)
US + VN line
3. Will this limit of same ^{US} lines \$ in VN?
4. Could you expand on that?
5. Why should Congress take the initiative?

Students... not our adults take
responsibility ...
@@

I have always found the phrase Nixon's War.
If he became committed to it, we were
committed to it for the rest of his term.

5. Important for Congress to share responsibility;
yet he did not encourage any action to share respons. for this war;
now, perhaps no solution but for Congress to
take whole responsibility.

Executive act of control — act of political
restraints, act of restraints of respect for
international law & borders,
act of Congress ^{but this was fail Congress respect of setting a limit} to black check the tie;
Bad judgment; more

He may believe what he is saying to
the students: that costs the ends are his,
the values are his, what they want, he wants.

Of course, he wants power, & US troops to be out
of VN — so did Ho Chi Minh.

2. Other addicts; fail to estimate.

In� even of "old VNZ" strategy & too slow, too costly, too many choices for temptation to escalate, too likely to count as evidence. Not withdrawal, only reduction; content to thin down, no negot without.

But for our time of this new VNZ — or old Vietnamese — strategy: ^{S+D} acts on the borders, let alone beyond, strong walls on NVN, and reducing, reducing, reducing: open-ended.

The logic is either open-ended war or it does no begin at all. ~~Every~~ ^{any} Cons ~~will~~ escalate or retreat; he has said by word the "retreat."

A content now to withdraw totally is the only sure way to save the lives of the 280,000 US troops Nixon proposes to leave 2 years from now.

Way-way Nixon.

Public understood him to be going ~~south~~ immediately east — towards home — not west to Cambodian or Laos or north to North Vietnam.

He has told us W troops are leaving Cambodia — But how do we understand his statements.

By road? the way they left SVN a week ago — by the western frontier? or the north — to Laos?
When will they go back?

Said says we

He will not get bogged down?

Did McN intend to get bogged down?

Wait to hear the voice of the people this time? Hasn't he learned his lesson?

If he takes the sub-agents for the op. by itself seriously, he has learned no lessons.

If he mind the public reaction to this op. & its style, seriously, how can we believe our wishes & fears are getting through to him, or influence him?

~~overwas~~ Our "concern" is the question
in which ^{the people} SEA sit.

The Emperor has taken off his clothes.

Kill for Peace

Now Nal will find what it was
to call -

People's responsibility to press Home.

(rationale for
Vs. slavery of division

{ 10,000 dentists;

Rexon "decided to press the legality of
being waylaying an invitation.

Pros. has equated to law invasion of Gadh!
Taks: Doves, not of mind but of bitzping.

"Forget about the was..."

Contract of impression to press action
(like Jet; like bombing).

What Pros' don't know; from still: What will
cause rage in others; how his acts look.

to Sullivan

Was the Cambodian Gov consulted on the decision to enter the country with US troops?

(1) Were you involved directly?

(Did you know of proposal?)

Abrass. Sullivan — if you did not agree

2. did you recommend, or agree with the
rec to send US units into Cambodia?

3. If you ~~were~~ felt the agents ^{for this} ~~were~~ ~~indiginate~~,
would you feel free to tell us?

→ 4.

5. What was your attitude, as Abrass. to Laos,
to renewing the US role in Laos, or making
^{US ground} open attacks on the Laotian sanctuaries?

6. Why do these same attitudes not apply to
Cambodia — which is ~~stated~~ ~~covered~~ also in
the Geneva Accords of 1954?

What will we do if /

4 Is there any evidence of a Com build up
men or supplies in the Cambodian border areas in
the last several months?

7. What will we do if the Lon Nol gov is about
to fall, from Com pressure?

Cross- Exam

1. Secret info : one : by past experience,
basically wrong.

Also, secret motions ; part of the job of
SA's, as Ambass. Bill well knows, is
to prepare committee committee stories and
lies, as to plans, info, motions,

The more closely held, the less likely
one they to stand up to open scrutiny + questioning -
But we can say effets.

2. Blew ^(secret), reasons for bad policies. ^{or assertions}
Tend to give Presidential decisions
in shadow in the benefit of my doubts,
after the record of the last 4 Presidents then.
A Pres. who wants public confidence in
his policy ~~is~~ not to leave a lot of doubts

1. One has said

Is it worthwhile in saving lives?

Said SVN

Is there any justification for this operation.

2. Why not?

For some reasons that have led the President, including this one, to reject it even though it was his proposal... to call this "decisive".

3. Is there a risk?

Risks of escalation by Com.: new strategy
~~area~~ - Central
Central is Central

Risk of future Pres action. in Laos

He has warned us that any of these will lead to escalation or full host strategy. Dying - and kill. NVA

4. What should we do in VN.

Get out of VN. ^{and} This should decide, to demand total withdrawal
On Congress: stay responsibly.

Nixon Admin started with a fetish for consistency of plans, budgets, forces, etc.

[as in SA? Or is there also emphasis on consistency of policies, in different regions, subjects...]

Rationale for Military Assistance hasn't changed since Dulles (or...?)(Acheson?) : building up indigenous forces that can't be relied on, yet commit us.

"Containment of China" — that genie starts in a pretty big bottle.

2½ years: (1) a buildup in Europe against Warsaw Pact
(2)

May see mess in Korea and desire by communists to use them against N Koreans, not first China.